



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Von LUDWIG PASTOR. III. Bd.: *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Renaissance von der Wahl Innocenz' VIII. bis zum Tode Julius' II.* (Freiburg i. B.: Herder. 1895. Pp. lxvii, 888.)

It is now nearly a decade since this work began to see the light: its first volume appeared in 1886, its second in 1889. Its author reckoned its extent at six volumes. In the first he surveyed the introductory period of Avignon, the Great Schism, and the Councils, from 1305 to 1447, when with Nicholas V. the Renaissance mounted the papal throne; and he covered also the pontificates of Nicholas and of Calixtus III. The second, beginning in 1458, was to complete the age of the Renaissance; the remaining four to be divided between "the three great events which, together with the Renaissance, dominate modern times" — "the great western *Kirchenspaltung*, the Catholic Restoration, and the modern Revolution." But already the second volume, overwhelmed by its materials, broke off at 1484. The third, which had hoped to reach the Lateran Council of 1517, fills a hundred pages more than its predecessors, yet gets no further than 1513. Professor Pastor, born in 1854, is still a young man, and no scholar will grudge him his multiplying pages; but it is clear that we have here to do with a life-work.

True, the last half-dozen years have seen other fruit of his pen: fresh editions, much revised, of his two earlier volumes, — the life of his master, Janssen, — two thick volumes of that master's unfinished *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, published from the deceased scholar's papers indeed, but completed and enriched by his pupil, who has now promised to carry the work to its end. But surely not even a German scholar, even had he not academic and editorial duties beside, can count on a normal activity so great. And Dr. Pastor makes no light work of historical research. Almost appalling is the list of authorities prefixed to this volume; yet its twenty-seven pages name only those repeatedly cited, leaving to the foot of his text the multitude which have but a single mention. It is amazing what an eye the author has for every out-of-the-way thesis, magazine article, book-review, in the field of his study. And the digestion of this vast literature is but the smaller half of his toil; it is the peculiar claim of his title-page that he writes "with use of the papal secret archives and of many other archives." No less than seventy-six such collections of manuscripts are enumerated as laid under tribute, several of them not before accessible to the trained historian. For Herr Pastor is the first to profit, in this most delicate field of research, by the new generosity with which the Roman see, under the present scholarly and far-sighted pontiff, has thrown open its records; and it is well known what a lively and helpful interest the ecclesiastical world, from His Holiness down, has taken in his work.

From such a zeal and such an equipment the world has a right to expect much; and it has seemed, on the whole, despite an occasional

caustic review from partisan quarters, not disappointed. This third volume has the qualities of its predecessors — the abundant erudition, the sane and self-reliant criticism, the quiet, sustained, and self-respecting narrative, but also the excessive caution, the half-apologetic flavor, the close adherence to the form of its authorities, the mosaic method by which, to the umbrage of his critics, its author makes even moderns furnish whole paragraphs of his text. Yet, as to this last, it were unfair not to add that he frankly disclaims the wish “to say better what has once been well said” — and, while he so loyally credits his loans, he may well be right.

A long introduction is devoted to “the moral-religious conditions and vicissitudes of Italy in the age of the Renaissance,” wherein the author again emphasizes his distinction of a Christian Renaissance from the pagan. The volume then falls naturally into the three books suggested by the pontificates of Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., and Julius II., the month-long reign of Pius III. making but a prefatory episode in the third. A sixty-page appendix of unpublished documents — some of them of exceeding interest, as *e.g.* the outline of Alexander VI.’s unfulfilled reform-project of 1497, whose full text we are later to hope for — closes the book.

It would be almost impertinent to mention the religious faith of a writer so scientific in spirit and method, did he not himself so put in the foreground his orthodox Catholicism. But, orthodox Catholic though he frankly is, he is no mere Ultramontane apologist. As his epigraph, he takes the words of Leo the Great, “*Petri dignitas etiam in indigno herede non deficit*”; and, while rejecting much of the scandal born of partisan hate, and making the popes of the Renaissance not monsters, but intelligible, and even likable, albeit erring, mortals, none has ever more relentlessly established the selfish cowardice of Innocent, the sensuality of Alexander, the violence of Julius, the unblushing simony of all three. As to the Borgia, he even dares to declare that “*jeder Rettungsversuch erscheint fortan als aussichtslos.*” Nor are these great sinners mere scapegoats: it is the merit, as it is the charm, of Pastor’s treatment, that even his heroes seem to need no background, and win our interest without cost to their humanity. It would be easy to point out places where his sympathies seem to have colored his interpretation, or to have blinded him to a more obvious meaning of facts; but he has neither overlooked nor concealed the facts themselves. He is a Catholic, and human; but he is an honest man.

It is in respect of this fairness that he least suggests that other great Catholic historian of our day, to whom he owes so much, — his master, Janssen. The influence of master on pupil is visible everywhere, and appears even in the outer form of their volumes. The learning of Janssen was not less great, his criticism not less keen, his style more lively and varied, his grouping more dramatic, his honesty of purpose doubtless not less real. But he was, through and through, a special pleader — in the selection of his materials, in their arrangement, in their use: the most consummate, perhaps because the most unconscious, of advocates. The

history of modern Germany can now never be read without him ; but it can never be safely read with him alone. His more happy pupil has not only the aim of fairness : he has what is rarer — the power.

If ever this seems to fail him, it is where the master's influence is most direct. Were he not fresh from editing that eighth volume of Janssen, where, with a casuistry almost equal to its learning, the guilt and significance of the witch-bull of Innocent VIII. are obscured, it may well be doubted whether Professor Pastor would have dismissed this episode with naught but apology. True, the importance of the bull has been often exaggerated, and oftener misunderstood. It may well be that its acceptance of the witch-superstitions was no dogmatic decision : that is a question for the theologians, and no historian but will rejoice that Catholics grant it no binding force. It were folly to suspect the easy-going pontiff of anything worse than that unscrupulous selfishness of which Herr Pastor himself convicts the "*grenzenlos schwache Mann*": the Dominicans were, perhaps, but receiving their return for that election whose corruption he so sternly exposes. But to one who knows how Pope Innocent's credulity, though it were no more, set the seal of supreme approval upon cruel delusions still hotly contested within the pale of the church herself, and what a part his bull played thenceforward, in the hands of persecutors, clerical and lay, shutting the mouths of brave churchmen who would else have faced them down, his historian's acquittal must bring a pained surprise.

But, to the English reader, there is another whose work even more than Janssen's presses for comparison with that of Pastor. Side by side with the Catholic historian, an eminent Anglican scholar has grappled with the same theme, and the volumes of Bishop Creighton have a few years the start. Those dealing with this period appeared in 1887, and devote to it somewhat less than half the space of the German volume. For grasp and lucidity, for insight and fairness, the English scholar has nothing to fear from the comparison ; and it should be to him matter of pride that the German, with all his fresh sources, has found so little to correct or to add. It is clear, on the other hand, how much he constantly owes to the English writer's suggestion. But, if Bishop Creighton's is the more statesmanly eye, the more picturesque pencil, the more terse and virile exposition, the more luminous consciousness of the general politics of Europe, Dr. Pastor's is yet the surer, the warmer, the subtler touch. And, though the Englishman draws more largely on the gossip of Infessura, of Burchard, of Paris de Grassis, while the more cautious German ignores many a good story which he cannot prove, the latter is often the less conservative of the two. Not a few charges questioned by Creighton are established by Pastor — instance that most damning count of the birth to Alexander VI. of a son during his papacy ; and, in general, the idea he gives us of these Renaissance popes, if more sympathetic, is less flattering. Savonarola both treat with much fulness and with singular concurrence — maintaining his honesty and his Catholic orthodoxy, rejecting his garbled confession, and laying the blame of his fate on his part in politics, and the inevitable

collision with the Roman curia ; and both, in preferring the documents to the biographers, fail to grasp the wholly altered worth given the latter by Villari's discovery of the earlier form and the contemporary sources of the so-called Burlamacchi.

That, in the search of truth, two scholars so severed by religious environment should have reached such agreement, in such a field, is one of the encouraging things of modern historical research ; and the generous policy of Pope Leo XIII. could hardly ask a better proof that the defenders of the church have nothing to fear. The real issue, so long obscured, is not one of fact, but of faith. It is to be regretted by students of church history that Professor Pastor has promised now to turn his attention to his continuation of Janssen. If, when he comes back to his own work, he can carry it through the yet more difficult period that next awaits him with the fairness of spirit and the unfailing courtesy which mark his volumes thus far, he will have earned as few others the gratitude of the Christian world.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Calendar of State Papers, Spanish. Vol. III., *Elizabeth (1580–1586)*. Edited by MARTIN A. S. HUME. (London : H.M. Stationery Office. 1896.)

THE material calendared in this volume is drawn mainly from the correspondence of Spanish agents in England, and other papers relating directly to English affairs, preserved in the Spanish Archives at Simancas. But a considerable number of the documents are from the Simancas papers removed to Paris by Napoleon during the Peninsular war. Students who have writhed under the inaccuracies of Spanish editors will be glad to know that Major Hume has carefully transcribed or collated all the documents in this volume, which includes all the Spanish State Papers touching the relations between England and Spain at a period when the history of either of these countries was the history of the world.

The opening pages usher us into a time of great anxiety for Elizabeth. Spanish dockyards were noisy with Philip's naval preparations. Both Spain and the Pope were giving the Irish rebels active support. Seminary priests and the other adherents of Mary Stuart were raising their heads all over England. The Queen's own popularity was suffering on account of the projected marriage with Alençon.

Orange, inflexible and unwavering, saw only one way to attract to the national cause the Catholic Flemings and Walloons ; namely, to call in Catholic Alençon to assume the sovereignty of the States. But Elizabeth was ready to sacrifice her last shilling and her last Englishman to prevent a French domination of Flanders. If Alençon went there at all, he must go under her patronage and with the support of the French Huguenots. Yet she durst not go so far as to drive the French king into the arms of Philip, and therefore beguiled Henry III. with the idea of his dynastic aggrandizement. A better understanding between England and France, and a re-